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Four versions of Jefferson's letter



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The Four Versions of Jefferson's Letter  
to Mazzei

Thomas Jefferson



BY

HOWARD R. MARRARO, Ph.D.,  
*Assistant Professor of Italian, Columbia University*



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## THE FOUR VERSIONS OF JEFFERSON'S LETTER TO MAZZEI

By HOWARD R. MARRARO, Ph.D., *Assistant Professor of Italian, Columbia University*

In the summer of 1934, the author had the opportunity and privilege to examine and copy in the home of Mrs. Adele Carmignani,<sup>1</sup> Lung'Arno Galileo, 12, Pisa, Italy, the original copy of the famous letter that Jefferson wrote to Philip Mazzei, his friend, on April 24, 1796, and the original of the Italian translation of the letter made by Mazzei himself. Since then the author has found the text of the French version as it appeared in *The Gazette of the United States and Philadelphia Advertiser* reprinted from the *Gazette Nationale ou le Moniteur Universel* of Paris and the text of the translation into English made from the French version as it appeared in the New York *Minerva* and other American papers.

It is not known just how Mazzei's Italian version reached the editor of the *Moniteur Universel*. However, long before any discussion of the letter appeared in the American press, Mazzei was severely reprimanded even by some of his friends for his failure to exercise better judgment and more discretion than he apparently did. His friend, Jacob Van Staphorst, a Dutch banker, who foresaw in the publication of the French translation the troubles that Jefferson was to encounter, wrote to Mazzei, whom he addressed as "My dear and worthy friend," a letter dated Paris, March 9, 1797,<sup>2</sup> in which he stated:

" . . . Although the anti-British sentiments of our respected friend Jefferson are widely known, I should have liked you to exercise the same discretion on behalf of the letter he wrote you last April 24, or that the person to whom you had communicated its contents and who furnished the *Moniteur* with an extract had shown a similar display of delicacy, instead of giving it as it appears in No. 126 of the

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Adele Carmignani has in her possession a considerable portion of the archives of Giovanni Carmignani, the famous jurist, who, as an intimate friend of Mazzei, possessed some of Mazzei's papers.

<sup>2</sup> MS. in the archives of Dr. Michelangelo Maruzzi, Via Lavagna, 14, Pisa, Italy. Dr. Maruzzi, who has the bulk of Mazzei's documents and letters, is a descendant of Mazzei.

6th Pluviose,<sup>3</sup> or the issue of last January 25, as quoted here, in an article dated from Florence on the first of January:<sup>4</sup>

"Letter of Mr. Jefferson, former Minister of the United States to France and Secretary of Foreign Affairs, to a citizen of Virginia"—with this addition:

"This letter (literally translated) is addressed to Mr. Mazzei, author of *Recherches Historiques et Politiques sur les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, residing in Tuscany."

"To one enlightened as yourself, my dear friend, I need not emphasize the lack of prudence and delicacy displayed in the publication of the personal correspondence of a friend, without his permission, nor the degree to which such publication can be, if not actually harmful, at least displeasing to our friend Jefferson in the present condition of the United States of America. . . ."

Jefferson did not complain directly to his friend Mazzei for having publicized the contents of his letter and bore him no ill will. They continued to write to each other regularly, although it appears that Jefferson's letters failed to reach Mazzei. When Mazzei complained<sup>5</sup> that he had not received any letter since that of April 24, Jefferson assured his friend that he had "regularly written" to him once a year.<sup>6</sup> However, in a letter dated Washington, July 18, 1804,<sup>7</sup> Jefferson acknowledged the fact that he had not written to Mazzei for a "long" time—not since the receipt of Mazzei's letter of February 5, 1801, but he explained that his silence was due to the "constant pressure of business," adding:

"I scarcely write a letter a year to any friend beyond sea. another consideration has led to this, which is the liability of my letters to miscarry, be opened & made ill use of. altho' the great body of our country are perfectly returned to their antient principles, yet there remains a phalanx of old tories and monarchists more envenomed as all their hopes become

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<sup>3</sup> According to the Revolutionary Calendar, the month known as Pluviose (Rain) began approximately January 20.

<sup>4</sup> The fact that the *Moniteur* published Jefferson's letter in an article dated Florence excludes the possibility that the editor of the French paper may have received another copy of the letter through some other source.

<sup>5</sup> MS. letter dated Pisa, Dec. 6, 1800.

<sup>6</sup> MS. letter dated Washington, March 17, 1801, in Library of Congress. Published in Ford, P. L., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, VIII, 15-18.

<sup>7</sup> MS. in Library of Congress. Published in Henry S. Randall, *The Life of Thomas Jefferson*, III, 112-113; A. E. Bergh, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, XI, 38-42.

more desperate. every word of mine which they can get hold of, however innocent, however orthodox even is twisted, tormented, perverted, and, like the words of holy writ, are made to mean every thing but what they were intended to mean. I trust little therefore unnecessarily in their way, and especially on political subjects. I shall not therefore be free to answer all the several articles of your letters."

As foreseen by Jacob Van Staphorst, the controversy that arose in America as a result of the publication of the letter continued to annoy and embarrass its writer for many years. Not even Jefferson's explanation that his wording had been considerably altered and that the French version and therefore the English translation contained a paragraph which he did not write failed to silence his critics who made political capital of the letter.

The authenticity of the letter was not doubted. *The Aurora* of Philadelphia wrote: "In our view of the subject, the delineation of parties therein given is substantially correct." *The Argus* of New York City also wrote that the letter "pourtays in real colors, undeniable facts."<sup>8</sup> In an editorial on Jefferson's letter which it had reprinted in its issue of May 3, 1797, *The Herald: a gazette for the country*<sup>9</sup> wrote as follows:

"The repeated accounts we receive of misinterpretations circulated in France by our Jacobins, must convince the Americans that the difference between the government of that country and of the United States has proceeded mostly from the arts and treachery of our own citizens.

"When we see such abominal falsehoods as those contained in Mr. Jefferson's letter propagated thro Europe by those characters who have held high offices in America, we are tempted to apologize for the resentment of a nation exposed to those deceptions. The evil is deep rooted among ourselves—and unless some mode can be devised to restrain these traitorous correspondencies, between the factions of our own citizens, and foreign governments, we shall never be represented to Europeans in our just character."

<sup>8</sup> *The Mercantile Daily Advertiser* was one of the few papers that doubted the authenticity, stating that "from a misstatement of fact in the very first sentence, it is impossible that it should have been written by any well informed literary American." Quoted in *The Herald*, May 10 1797.

<sup>9</sup> May 6, 1797.

A few days after the publication of this editorial, *The Herald*,<sup>10</sup> in a strong-worded appeal to Americans, declared:

"When you see that foreign governments consider you as belonging to a British or French party, when they speak of this in legislative bodies and in public gazettes, awaken from your slumbers; discord the infamous charge of being the tools of other nations; reassert your dignity; unite under the *American Eagle*; and teach foreign governments and their hosts of agents and emissaries scattered among you, that while you respect the sovereignty of all other nations, you know how to protect your *own*."

In a letter addressed to the editor of *The Herald*,<sup>11</sup> a reader wrote that though Jefferson's letter may prove to be a "forgery," yet "the presumption, however, is in favor of the letter being genuine because the remarks made upon it in the *Moniteur* prove to a demonstration that it was published for the avowed purpose of justifying the unwarrantable conduct of the French Government toward the United States." The writer also felt that the republication of the letter in the United States would produce much good, since it could not fail "to convince every candid mind, that the insults to our government, and the piracies committed on our commerce, have been invited by some of our own citizens."

To aggravate the situation, *The New Star*<sup>12</sup> of Concord, N. H., not only published the text of the French translation as it had appeared in the *Moniteur* but also the editorial comment of the French paper in which the French editor remarked that this letter explained the conduct of Americans in regard to France. "It is certain," wrote the editor of the *Moniteur*, "that of all the neutral and friendly powers, there is none from which France had a right to expect more interest and succours than from the United States. She is their true mother country since she has assured to them their liberty and independence. Ungrateful children, instead of abandoning her, they ought to have armed in her defence." The editor of *The New Star* concluded that though the letter had all the external marks of authenticity, yet it seemed "hardly possible that an American could be capable of writing such a letter." As the letter was circulating in Europe, *The New Star* deemed it "just, if a forgery, to give Mr. Jefferson an opportunity to disavow it."

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<sup>10</sup> May 10, 1797.

<sup>11</sup> May 10, 1797.

<sup>12</sup> May 23, 1797, 52-53.

Assuring its readers that Jefferson's letter was "genuine," *The Herald*<sup>13</sup> remarked that since the French really believed that the "opposition between our government and the people to be as general as their partizans have represented it, it is probable that they have calculated upon that decision to ensure success to their imperious demands," and concluded that "our duty is within a narrow compass—to be firm and undaunted towards France without giving her just cause of offense; and to be united among ourselves in whatever measures shall be pursued."

The attacks against Jefferson were renewed with increased vigor following the death of Washington when Jefferson was a candidate for the presidency. In an editorial lamenting the death of Washington, the editor of the Virginia *Federalist*<sup>14</sup> reproduced the text of Jefferson's letter, because, he said, "the people who now present to the world an unexampled spectacle of affliction from one end of this vast continent to the other, cannot forget the author of that high wrought calumny on him who was their Samson in the field, and their Solomon in council." Urging every American citizen to read the letter, the editor stated that each reader should "consider with himself, whether Thomas Jefferson is worthy of a free, affectionate and virtuous people." The editor did not believe that it was any palliation that the letter was written confidentially to an intimate friend across the Atlantic, to whom Mr. Jefferson was unbosoming his soul. "It was well," he wrote, "for this gentleman that it was not known prior to the last election of the president and vice president. It is well for him that the law of limitation shields him from punishment. However, no punishment which the laws could inflict for such a crime would be sufficient. It can only be sufficiently punished by a sense of contempt towards the author as sincere and universal among the citizens as is the honor now bestowed on the memory of their departed friend."

"Decius" published a series of articles in the *Gazette of the United States and Philadelphia Daily Advertiser*<sup>15</sup> aiming to expose Jefferson's "mean subserviency to the views of a foreign nation, and his contradiction on some great and leading points."

Encouraged by the views presented by "Decius", a reader of the *Gazette of the United States and Daily Advertiser*,<sup>16</sup> in an open letter to Jefferson, dated Philadelphia, August 16, 1800, concluded

<sup>13</sup> June 14, 1797.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted in *Gazette of the United States and Philadelphia Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 13, 1800.

<sup>15</sup> See particularly the articles that appeared in the issues of July 3, and August 14, 1800.

<sup>16</sup> August 18, 1800.

that "considering your talents, and the hypocritical part you have acted, developed by your letter to Mazzei, your election to the Presidency would measure more ruinous and destructive to the liberties and happiness of America, than almost any other event that could occur. Your friends resembling yourself in dispositions and character, would fill all those offices now occupied by upright and patriotic Americans."

The texts of the four versions of the letter follow:

#### ORIGINAL TEXT OF JEFFERSON'S LETTER TO MAZZEI<sup>17</sup>

Monticello, Apr. 24, 1796.

My dear friend

Your letter of Oct. 26, 1795, is just received and gives me the first information that the bills forwarded for you to V. S. & H. of Amsterdam on V. Anderson for £ 39-17-10½ & on George Barclay for £ 70-8-6 both of London have been protested. I immediately write to the drawers to secure the money if still unpaid. I wonder I have never had a letter from our friends of Amsterdam on that subject as well as acknowledging the subsequent remittances. of these I have apprised you by triplicates, but for fear of miscarriage will just mention that on Sep. 8, I forwarded them Hodgden's bill on Robinson Saunderson & Rumney of White-haven for £ 300. and Jan. 31. that of the same on the same for £ 137-16-6. both received from mr. Blair for your stock sold out. I have now the pleasure to inform you that Dohrman has settled his account with you, has allowed the New York damages of 20 per cent for the protest, & the New York interest of 7. per cent, and after deducting the partial payments for which he held receipts the balance was three thousand and eighty-seven dollars, which sum he has paid into mr. Madison's hands, and as he (mr.

<sup>17</sup> MS. in Carmignani Archives. The MS. of the Italian translation of a portion of this letter, that beginning with "the aspect of our politics, . . ." and ending with "during the first sleep which succeeded our labors" is also in Carmignani Archives and published in Mazzei's *Memorie*, II, 281-282. This letter is published in Francis W. Hirst, *Life and Letters of Thomas Jefferson*, 332-333; William B. Parker & Jonas Viles, *Letters and Addresses of T. Jefferson*, 111; George Tucker, *Life of Thomas Jefferson*, I, 582; Bergh, *op. cit.*, IX, 335-337; Randall, *op. cit.*, II, 295; Ford, *op. cit.*, VII, 72-78; Garlick, *Philip Mazzei, friend of Jefferson*, 133-135; *Minerva*, May 14, 1797; Hamilton, *Monroe*, III, 69; Washington, *Jefferson*, IV, 193. For a discussion of the controversy see Ford, *op. cit.*, VII, 72-78. For editorial comments see also: *The Herald: a gazette for the country*, N. Y., May 10, June 14, Aug. 5, 1797; *The Gazette of the United States & Philadelphia Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 13, 1800; *The Spectator*, N. Y., Aug. 30, 1800. *The Gazette of the United States & Philadelphia Daily Advertiser*, also published two articles, signed *Decius*, in its issues of July 3, and August 14, 1800; and an open letter to Jefferson in its issue of Aug. 18, 1800.

Madison) is now in Philadelphia, I have desired him to invest the money in good bills on Amsterdam and remit them to the V. Staphorsts & Hubbard whom I consider as possessing your confidence as they do mine, beyond any house in London. the pyracies of that nation lately extended from the sea to the debts due from them to other nations, renders theirs an unsafe medium to do business through. I hope these remittances will place you at your ease, and I will endeavor to execute your wishes as to the settlement of the other small matters you mention: tho' from them I expect little. E. [dmund] R. [andolph] is bankrupt, or tantamount to it. our friend M. [ann] P. [age] is embarrassed, but having lately sold the fine lands he lives on, & being superlatively just and honorable I expect we may get whatever may be in his hands. Lomax is under greater difficulties with less means, so that I apprehend you have little more to expect from this country except the balance which will remain for Colle after deducting the little matter due to me, & that will be recovered by Anthony. this will be decided this summer.

I have written to you by triplicates with every remittance I sent to the V. S. & H. G. always recapitulated in each letter the objects of the preceding ones. I inclosed in two of them some seeds of the squash as you desired. send me in return some seeds of the winter vetch. I mean that kind which is sown in autumn & stands thro' the cold of winter, furnishing a crop of green fodder in March. put a few seeds in every letter you may write to me. in England only the spring vetch can be had. pray fail not in this. I have it greatly at heart.

The aspect of our politics has wonderfully changed since you left us. in place of that noble love of liberty & republican government which carried us triumphantly thro' the war, an Anglican, monarchical & aristocratical party has sprung up, whose avowed object is to draw over us the substance as they have already done the forms of the British government. the main body of our citizens however remain true to their republican principles, the whole landed interest is with them, and so is a great mass of talents. against us are the Executive, the Judiciary, two out of three branches of the legislature, all the officers of the government, all who want to be officers, all timid men who prefer the calm despotism to the boisterous sea of liberty, British merchants & Americans trading on British capitals, speculators & holders in the banks & public funds, a contrivance invented for the purposes of corruption & for assimilating us in all things, to the rotten as well as to the sound parts of the British model. it would give you a fever were I to name to you the apostates who have gone over to these

heresies, men who were Sampsons in the field & Solomons in the council, but who have had their heads shorn by the harlot England. in short we are likely to preserve the liberty we have obtained only by unremitting labors & perils. but we shall preserve them, and our mass of weight & wealth on the good side is so great as to leave no danger that force will ever be attempted against us. we have only to awake and snap the Lilliputian cords with which they have been entangling us during the first sleep which succeeded our labors.—I will forward the testimonial of the death of mrs. Mazzei<sup>18</sup> which I can do the more incontravertibly as she is buried in my grave yard, and I pass her grave daily. the formalities of the proof you require will occasion delay. John Page & his son Mann are well. the father remarried to a lady from N. york. Beverley Randolph e la sua consorte<sup>19</sup> living & well. their only child married to the 2<sup>d</sup> son of T. M. Randolph. the eldest son you know married my eldest daughter, is an able learned and worthy character, but kept down by ill health. they have two children & still live with me. my younger daughter well. Col<sup>o</sup>. Innis is well, & a true republican still as are all those before named. Col<sup>o</sup>. Monroe is our M. P. at Paris a most worthy patriot & honest man. these are the persons you enquire after. I begin to feel the effects of age. my health has suddenly broke down, with symptoms which give me to believe I shall not have much to encounter of the tedium vitae. while it remains however my heart will be warm in it's friendships and among these will always foster the affection with which I am Dear Sir

Your friend & serv<sup>t</sup>.

(Signed) Th. Jefferson

(In Mazzei's handwriting in Italian are the following notations:)<sup>20</sup>

Endorsed: Jefferson, April 24, 1796

Reply January 3, 97.

Then I wrote on April 21, concerning the matter of the *Moniteur* only, and I enclosed Ferri's letter. Then on December 4, 1797, I enclosed a letter in one addressed to the V. House in Amsterdam.

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<sup>18</sup> Mrs. Mazzei died on January 10, 1788, and was buried in Jefferson's graveyard at Monticello.

<sup>19</sup> and his wife.

<sup>20</sup> From Mazzei's notations it would seem that he explained to Jefferson the whole matter of the publication in France of his (Jefferson's) letter. However, Mazzei's letter of April 21, presumably of 1797, has not come to light. We have been unable to discover what connection Ferri may have had with the publication of Jefferson's letter in the *Moniteur*.

## ITALIAN VERSION<sup>21</sup>

Dopo che ci lasciate il nostro aspetto politico ha cambiato sorprendentemente. In luogo di quel nobile amor di libertà e di governo repubblicano, che ci portò in trionfo tutto il tempo della guerra, è insorto un partito anglicano monarchico e aristocratico, il cui manifesto oggetto è di tirarci addosso la sostanza del governo inglese, come ce ne hanno già tirate le formalità. Il grosso però dei nostri concittadini resta fedele ai suoi principii repubblicani, e con questi sono tutti quei, l'interesse dei quali è l'agricoltura, e una gran massa di talenti. Contro di noi abbiamo i membri del potere esecutivo, del giudicario e di due dei tre rami del legislativo; tutti quei che sono o bramano di essere in impieghi del governo; tutti i pusillanimi che preferiscono la calma del dispotismo al burrascoso mare della libertà; i mercanti britanni, e quei che trafficano con capitali britanni; gli speculatori e i capitalisti nelle banche e nei fondi pubblici, trappola inventata per corromperci e assomigliarci in tutto al modello inglese, nelle parti putride come nelle solide. Vi darei la febbre, se vi nominassi gli apostati che ànno adottato tali eresie; uomini che sono stati Sansoni in campo e Salomoni in consiglio, ma che hanno avuto la lor testa rasata dalla meretrice Inghilterra. Insomma conserveremo probabilmente la libertà che abbiamo acquistata, col solo mezzo d'incessanti fatiche e pericoli, ma la conserveremo; e la nostra massa d'importanza e di ricchezza dalla parte sana è sì grande, da non dover temere che sia mai tentata la forza contro di noi. Basta che ci svegliamo e strappiamo le corde lillipuziane, colle quali c'impastoiano sul primo sonno che successe ai nostri sforzi.

## FRENCH VERSION<sup>22</sup>

Florence, le 1<sup>er</sup> Janvier

Lettre de M. Jefferson, ci-devant ministre des Etats Unis en France, et Secrétaire au Département des Affaires Étrangères, à un citoyen de Virginie.

Cette lettre (littéralement traduite) est addressée à M. Mazzei,

<sup>21</sup> MS. in Carmignani Archives. Published in Mazzei's *Memorie*, II, 281-282; Garlick, *op. cit.*, 135-136.

<sup>22</sup> There having been some talk of inaccuracy in the English translation which had appeared in the American papers, *The Gazette of the United States and Philadelphia Advertiser*, in its issue of May 31, 1797, published the French text as it had appeared in the *Gazette Nationale ou le Moniteur Universel*, Paris.

auteur des *Recherches historiques et politiques sur les Etats Unis d'Amérique*, demeurant en Toscane.

“Notre état politique a prodigieusement changé depuis que vous nous avez quitté. Au lieu de ce noble amour de la liberté et de ce gouvernement républicain, qui nous ont fait passer triomphans à travers les dangers de la guerre; un parti anglicain-monarchico-aristocratique s'est élevé. Son objet avoué est de nous imposer la substance, comme il nous a déjà donné les formes du gouvernement Britannique; cependant le corps principal de nos citoyens reste fidèle aux principes républicains. Tous les propriétaires fonciers sont pour ces principes, ainsi qu'une grande masse d'hommes à talens. Nous avons contre nous (républicains) le pouvoir exécutif; le pouvoir judiciaire; (deux des trois branches de la législature) tous les officiers du gouvernement, tous ceux qui aspirent à l'être, tous les hommes timides qui préfèrent le calme du despotisme à la mer orageuse de la liberté, les marchands Bretons, et les Américains qui trafiquent avec des capitaux Bretons, les speculateurs, les gens intéressés dans la banque et lans les fonds publics. *Etablissements inventés dans des rues de corruption, et pour nous assimiler au modèle Britannique dans ses parties pourries.*<sup>23</sup>

“Je vous donnerais la fièvre si je vous nommais les apostats qui ont embrassé ces hérésies, des hommes qui étaient des Salomons dans le conseil, et des Samsons dans les combats, mais dont la chevelure a été coupée par la catin Angleterre.

“On voudrait nous ravir cette liberté que nous avons gagnée par tant de travaux et de dangers. Mais nous la conserverons; notre masse de poids et de richesse est trop grande pour que nous ayons à craindre qu'on tente d'employer la force contre nous. Il suffit que nous nous reveillons, et que nous rompions les liens lilliputiens dont ils nous ont garrottés pendant le premier sommeil qui a succédé à nos travaux. *Il suffit que nous arrêtiions les progrès de ce système d'ingratitude et d'injustice envers la France de qui on voudrait nous aliener pour nous rendre à l'influence Britannique, etc.*<sup>24</sup>”

<sup>23</sup> Italics mine. Jefferson says: “ . . . a contrivance invented for the purposes of corruption and for assimilating us in all things, to the rotten as well as to the sound parts of the British model.” Apparently the French did not like to have Jefferson see some good in the British model. This version is obviously based on the English original and not on Mazzei's version.

<sup>24</sup> Italics mine. This last sentence appears neither in Jefferson's original text nor in Mazzei's Italian version.

## TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH<sup>25</sup>

Florence (Italy) Jan. 1.

Letter from Mr. Jefferson, late Minister of the United States in France, and Secretary to the Department of Foreign Affairs, to a Citizen of Virginia.

[This letter, literally translated, is addressed to Mr. Mazzei, author of researches, historical and political, upon the U. States of America, now resident in Tuscany].

"Our political situation is prodigiously changed since you left us. Instead of that noble love of liberty, and that republican government, which carried us thro' the dangers of the war, an Anglo Monarchico-Aristocratic party has arisen. Their avowed object is to impose on us the *substance*, as they have already given us the *form*,<sup>26</sup> of the British government. Nevertheless, the principal body of our citizens remain faithful to republican principles. All our proprietors of lands are friendly to those principles, as well as the men of talents. We have against us (republicans) the *Executive power, the Judiciary power, (two of the three branches of our government) all the officers of government, all who are seeking offices, all timid men who prefer the calm of despotism to the tempestuous sea of liberty, the British merchants, and the Americans who trade on British capitals, the speculators, persons interested in the bank and public funds.*—[Establishments invented with views of corruption, and to assimilate us to the British model in its corrupt parts].

"I should give you a fever, if I should name the apostates who have embraced these heresies;—men who were Solomons in council, and Sampsons in combat, but whose hair has been cut off by the whore England. [In the original,—*par la catin Angleterre* probably alluding to the woman's cutting off the hair of Sampson, and his loss of strength thereby.]

"They would wrest from us that liberty which we have obtained by so much labor and peril; but we shall preserve it. Our mass of weight and riches are so powerful, that we have nothing

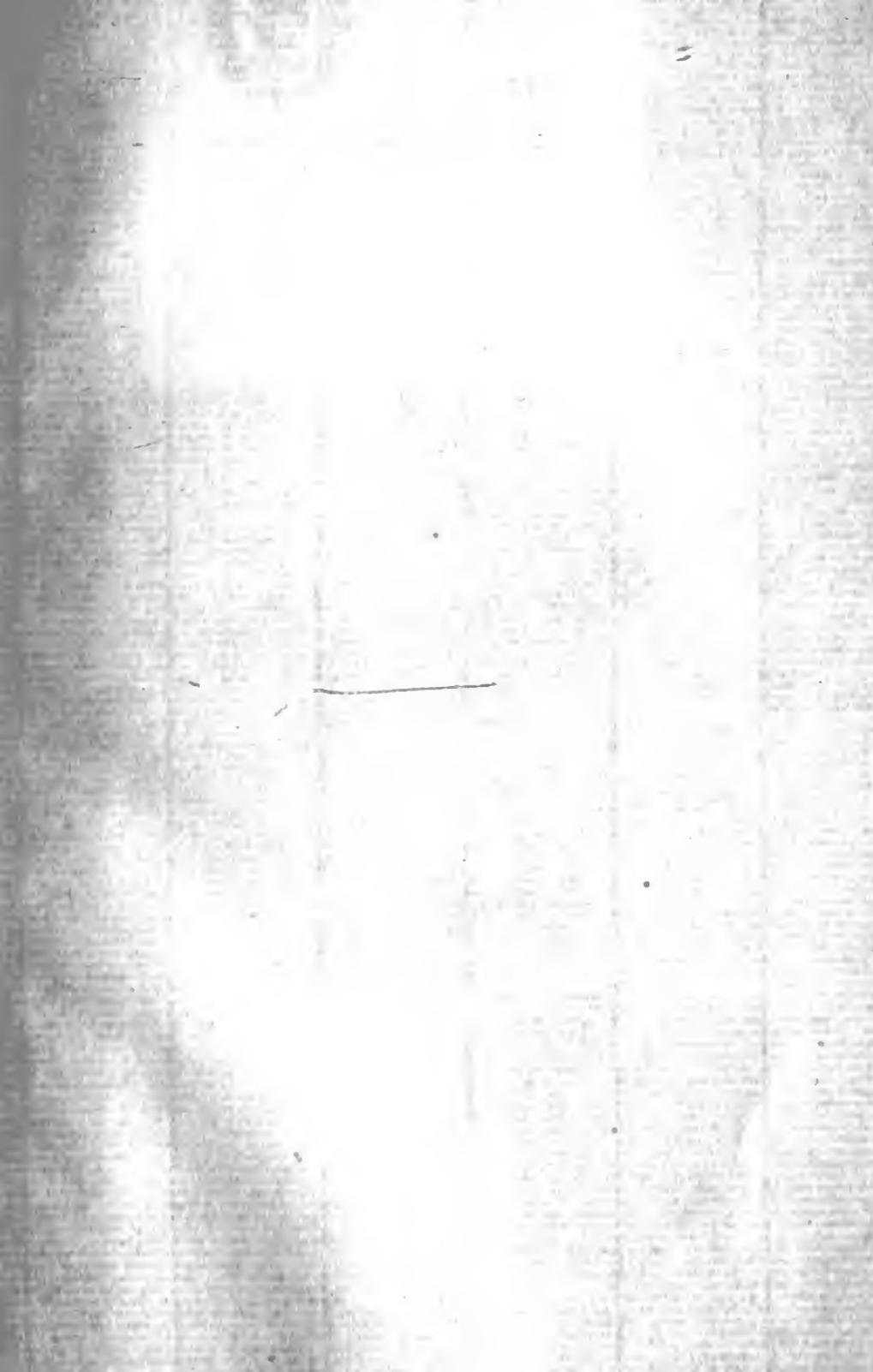
<sup>25</sup> The translation into English was originally made for the New York *Minerva*, from the Paris, *Moniteur* of January 25. The text here given appeared in *The New Star*, Concord, N. H., May 23, 1797, 52-53. The text is also found in *The Herald: A Gazette for the Country*, New York, May 3, 1797.

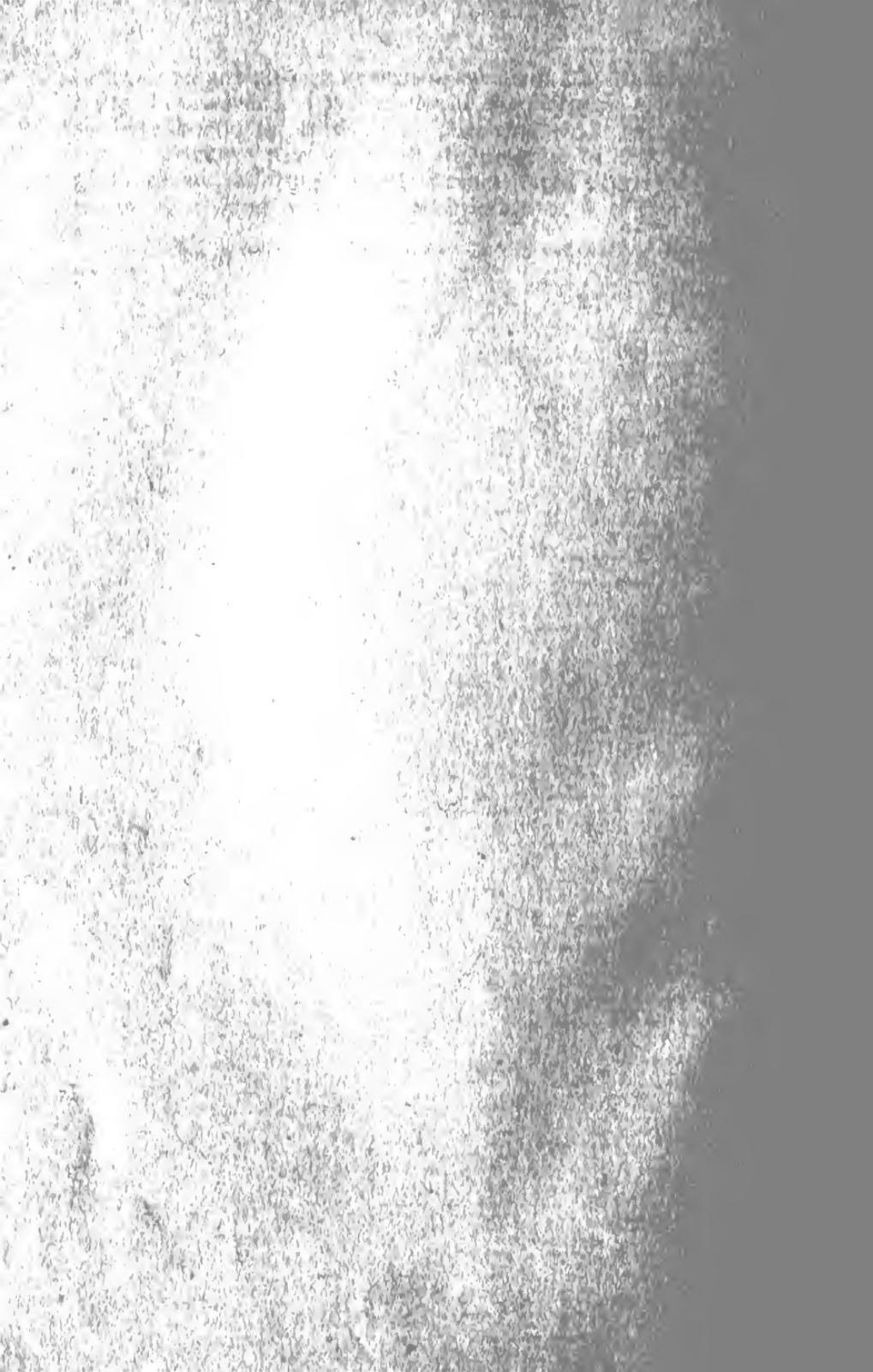
<sup>26</sup> Jefferson in his letter to Madison, Aug. 3, 1797, (Ford, *op. cit.*, VII, 164ff) complains of ". . . as they have already done the *forms* of the British government," being translated *form*. But Mazzei's Italian version has "*le formalità*." Jefferson also complained that the wording had been considerably changed. It was improved. The remarkable thing is that the English translation from the French resembled as much as it did the original English version. (Garlick, *op. cit.*, 137.)

to fear, from any attempt against us by force. It is sufficient that we guard ourselves and that *we break the liliputian ties* by which they have bound us, in the first slumbers which succeeded our labors. It suffices that we arrest the progress of that system of ingratitude and injustice towards France, from which they would alienate us, to bring us under British influence, & c.”<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> This last sentence does not occur in the original or in Mazzei's translation.







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